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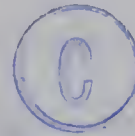
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
STATUS CONGRUENCE AND ORIENTATION TOWARD
RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

by
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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Status Congruence and Orientation Toward Residential Location" submitted by Charles S. Lyon in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the degree to which plans to move and dissatisfaction with the neighborhood could be predicted from knowledge of an individual's relative status position in the area. Measures of relative status position, or contextual position, were derived from the range of occupational prestige and educational attainment in the individual's residential area. Upper and lower deviants were defined as those people within the upper and lower quartiles of the range for their respective areas. Three hypotheses suggested by status congruence concepts were tested through a number of predictions.

The findings indicate that the relationship between contextual position and orientation toward the residential area is not clear-cut. A knowledge of relative position alone failed in general to predict dissatisfaction and plans to move. Correlations for the most part were weak.

Several of the controls introduced affected the relationships. Factors such as the ability to move easily and anticipated occupational mobility appear to interact with contextual position and to provide conditions under which contextual position may be a strong predictor of residential mobility. There appeared to be an inter-relationship between contextual position, anticipated position, and dissatisfaction with status aspects of the area which warrants further study.

Support for the theoretical scheme suggested in this study was inconclusive. It appears that both reference group and status

congruence concepts might be fruitfully employed to account for plans to move. A few suggestions are made for refining the empirical approach and for future research.

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INTRODUCTION

The population of all communities appears to be spatially distributed in such a way as to form recognizable patterns. Particularly in urban areas, these patterns can be characterized broadly as neighborhoods or natural areas. Thus the city may be seen as "... a mosaic of many diverse segments, each with more or less distinctive population, economic, political, and social characteristics".¹ These patterns appear to result as unplanned consequences of the larger social system.²

This study attempts to bring to light some of the factors which underline the process of residential segregation and which influence the formation of these natural areas. Interest is focussed on factors which may motivate an individual to move from his area of residence. It is assumed that the relationship of an individual to his area of residence is one of the factors which help determine his continued residence in that area, and that residential segregation is, at least in part, a result of the response of residents to their relative positions in the neighborhood social structure.

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The Problem

It is commonly accepted that there is a strong relationship between social similarity and residential proximity. Within a city, residents with similar social characteristics tend to gravitate toward certain areas, thereby creating a distinct mosaic of easily distinguishable "neighborhoods". There seems to be an interplay between individual social characteristics and area characteristics which tends to draw similar people into relatively distinct geographic areas.

While different socioeconomic indicators will give slightly different results when the segregation of areas is studied, there is enough evidence to support the following statement:³

It is now fairly well established, for American urban communities at least, that segregation into relatively homogeneous residential areas occurs in terms of variables which are highly correlated with a general dimension of social class.⁴

While the fact of residential segregation has been established, this information in itself does not explain why such differentiation occurs. This problem is the focus of the current study.

Background of Theory and Research

According to Feldman and Tilly, two major viewpoints are present in the literature on ecological differentiation.⁵ The first is primarily an economic explanation which assumes that all people desire the same type of residential location, but that they differ in their economic

ability to achieve this end. Thus, where one lives is a function of the type of housing one can afford. The second viewpoint is that residential segregation is, at least in part, a response to noneconomic factors. It suggests that residential segregation is influenced by value orientations which operate over and above purely economic considerations.

The evidence supporting the economic explanation is so overwhelming that it is impossible to discount economic considerations as a force contributing to residential differentiation. It seems obvious that income places a strong limit on the possibilities of residential location. However, there is some doubt that income is the sole determining factor. Sentiment has been found to override economics in deciding land usage.⁶ Other studies suggest this may be true for residential locations as well. Duncan and Duncan, for example, found that upper-level blue-collar workers tended to live below their incomes while lower-level white-collar workers lived above their incomes.⁷ For the group in the middle of occupational range, occupational category rather than income appears to have determined their residential location. Feldman and Tilly found that education, used as an indicator of style of life, exerted more influence than income in ordering occupational categories in physical space.⁸ Further, Øyen cites a Norwegian study which found that a job promotion was soon followed by a move to a different area, though the raise in income did not seem to justify the move.⁹

The evidence from these studies supports the assumption that residential location is influenced by differing values, though income can be expected to set a definite range within which movement may occur.

It would seem that the factors involved in residential location are related to the various factors commonly associated with social status. It appears to be unlikely that a person will change residence merely because he can afford to do so. He may be prevented from changing residences because he cannot afford to move, but the impetus to move must come from factors other than economic ability. The basic problem, then, is to delineate a mechanism which includes these factors and which may be called upon to explain why areas become differentiated and relatively homogeneous with regard to the status characteristics of residents.

A Reference Group Model of Residential Mobility

A theoretical scheme which attempts to explain the relationship between social and spatial proximity has been presented by Ørjar Øyen.¹⁰ In his original formulation, Øyen based his analysis on reference group theory. Øyen viewed the neighborhood, under certain conditions, as a reference group for individual residents. If an individual's social status is near the top or bottom of the range for the neighborhood, (either upward or downward deviance from the average), he will tend to find the neighborhood's status "anchorage point" too discrepant from his own status for the area to serve as an adequate reference group.¹¹ This will result in dissatisfaction with the neighborhood and a desire to move, presumably to an area in which his status is less deviant from the neighborhood norm. Following this formulation, Øyen investigated the relationship between an individual's relative position within his neighborhood occupational status and income ranges, and his attachment to the neighborhood, his orientation to the neighborhood, and his aspirations to move. Øyen predicted that persons in the upper portion

of neighborhood status would be relatively unattached and that those in the lower portion of neighborhood status would either be less attached or more attached to their neighborhood. These conflicting hypotheses concerning downward deviants were necessary because of conflicting evidence in the literature.¹² Øyen found modest but not strong support for the hypotheses that deviants, regardless of direction, tended to be less attached than non-deviants. This was interpreted as supportive of the reference group approach. However, there was no direct evidence on the degree to which residents actually used the neighborhood as a reference group.

Problems with the Model

Øyen made several assumptions in his study. Because no single indicator of social status accounts completely for area differentiation, Øyen's basic premise was that social class is an underlying continuum of status of which no single variable is a perfect indicator. Areas are actually differentiated along various dimensions of social class. Further, both areas and individuals may be ranked on the basis of the same stratificational variable. Øyen assumed that each area contains a status "anchorage point" which serves as a characterization of area status, and that residents perceive the overall distribution of class characteristics to the extent of defining a "normal" range as well as a downward and upward deviation beyond this range. To this point, the assumptions seem reasonable. However, the use of reference group theory required that two additional assumptions be made: (1) that residential areas were actual "neighborhood" areas and as such were psychologically meaningful to the respondents; (2) that neighborhoods served as significant reference groups for residents. These are somewhat related

assumptions. They imply that most people use their neighborhood as a direct means of guiding their behavior and obtaining their self-image.

While a great deal of interaction may take place, it does not seem necessary for an area to be a neighborhood in the primary group or psychological sense in order for a resident to react to it. The assumption that the residential area serves as a powerful reference group for all or most residents seems questionable. It is an equally likely assumption that many North Americans choose their area of residence on the basis of appearance alone and may choose to stay or move without knowing much about their neighbors. On the basis of this reasoning, a theoretical framework which eliminates the latter two assumptions while preserving the merits of Øyen's approach would appear to be more desirable. If similar hypotheses, generated from the second scheme, are supported, the scheme can be said to be a better one.

A Modification of the Model

An approach which is similar to Øyen's in many respects may be derived from "status congruence theory".¹³ That status congruence concepts might be applicable in the case of residential mobility is suggested by Øyen's own work. One of his basic ideas was that if an individual's status deviates from the status of the neighborhood, that individual will be less attached to the neighborhood than if his statuses are congruent. His method of analysis¹⁴ indicated that discrepant statuses were assumed to be the key factor involved in a lack of neighborhood attachment. In addition, the literature on ecological differentiation has been shown to be related to social status. Within the framework of status congruence theory, we may develop hypotheses

similar to those tested by Øyen but need not make any assumptions concerning the psychological relationship between the resident and the residential area. For that matter, we need not define the location as a "neighborhood" at all but merely as a residential area which may be spatially circumscribed.¹⁵

A Status Congruence Model

Status congruence for an individual is a condition in which all his status factors tend to evoke similar responses toward him by others. As Homans puts it, status congruence is a condition of social certitude.¹⁶ When one or more of a person's status factors are incongruent with expectations, others do not know how to react to that individual: They are receiving conflicting social cues for behavior. In such a situation, the individual is liable to be shunned, or to be treated as if his lowest status factor was his general status. Such behavior by others tends to be unpleasant for the individual and results in tension and a strain toward consistency.

The congruence of status factors is normatively defined. Many positions available in a society carry with them a complex of expectations or requirements concerning the major and auxiliary characteristics of incumbents.¹⁷ Thus a certain occupation carries with it expectations of a certain age, income, sex, and residential area. When one or more of these characteristics is not as expected, the individual is in a position of status incongruence. It is assumed that residential area also carries with it some connotations of status factors expected to be associated with residents of the various areas, and that residents are aware of these expectations.

Different areas of a city have different statuses derived

largely from historical patterns of settlement, as well as from the generalized characteristics of their residents.¹⁸ This is assumed to be a fairly stable characterization upon which there is a fair amount of agreement among residents of the urban community.¹⁹ Residents of a given area are all characterized, in one sense, by the status attributed to that area. That is, a modal "type" of person is implied by area status, and every resident tends to be characterized as being of that type once identified with the area.²⁰

However, the fine occupational and income distinctions encountered in North American communities are pervasive. Thus within any neighborhood one would expect some residents to be better off and some worse off than others. The objective outcome of this fact is the existence of an occupational or income distribution in which the upper and lower portions are, respectively, the upper and lower deviants. By definition, these deviants experience some form of status incongruence. For example, if a person is employed in an occupation the status of which is higher or lower than that attributed to his area of residence, we may speak of incongruence which is likely to influence his behavior with respect to the area of residence whether or not he regarded it (the neighborhood) as a reference group.²¹

Predictions from the Status Congruence Model

The significance of status congruence theory for the process of areal differentiation lies in the effects of incongruent status upon the deviant individuals in their residential area. Deviance in terms of neighborhood status is expected to result in tension and an impetus to equilibrate the discrepant status factors. Deviants from the area status are expected to react toward the area in ways which

reflect the tension. What type of reactions might be expected?

Malewski suggests an answer to this question in a series of hypotheses concerning the effects of status incongruence.²² Briefly, he suggests that a person will attempt to raise a lower status factor which is incongruent but will attempt to retain a higher status factor which is incongruent. Thus a person will attempt to equilibrate status factors at the level of the highest factor. Malewski further suggests that if a lower factor cannot be raised, the person will attempt to avoid people who will adversely react to the incongruence. These hypotheses form the basis for the reactions which might be expected from deviants in terms of neighborhood status.

Because area status constitutes a lower factor for people who are above area status on other factors, it is likely that upper deviants will be less satisfied with the neighborhood than other residents, particularly the non-deviants. Ultimately this lower degree of satisfaction will be expressed in various ways, including residential mobility. The following hypothesis and predictions are based on this argument and will guide our study of upper deviants:

Hypothesis 1. Individuals who deviate from their area "norm" in an upward direction will tend to be less satisfied with their area than people who do not deviate.

This hypothesis will be tested by the following predictions:

- 1 (a) Upper deviants will be more likely to be dissatisfied with their homes than will non-deviants;
- 1 (b) Upper deviants will be more likely to be considering a move in the near future than will non-deviants;
- 1 (c) Upper deviants will be more likely to be dissatisfied with the school program than will non-deviants;

- 1 (d) Upper deviants will be more likely to have no neighbors as friends than will non-deviants.

Because area status constitutes a higher factor for people who are below area status on other factors, we expect that lower deviants will make attempts to retain the higher factor. Accordingly, the next hypothesis and predictions will guide our study of lower deviants:

Hypothesis 2. Individuals who deviate from their area "norm" in a downward direction will tend to be more satisfied with their area than will people who do not deviate.

This hypothesis will be tested by the following predictions:

- 2 (a) Lower deviants will be more likely to be satisfied with their homes than will non-deviants;
- 2 (b) Lower deviants will be less likely to be considering a move in the near future than will non-deviants.

The final hypothesis is derived from the assumption that people with incongruent status factors will attempt to avoid people or situations where the incongruence may become evident. It is expected that lower deviants, if they attempt to retain the high but incongruent area status, will also attempt to avoid neighborhood contact in order to avoid drawing status incongruence to the attention of other residents. Thus it may be expected that:

Hypothesis 3. Individuals who deviate from their area "norm" in a downward direction will tend to be dissatisfied with interpersonal contacts which may draw attention to their lower status factors.

This hypothesis will be tested by the following predictions:

3 (a) Lower deviants will be less likely to be satisfied with the school program than will non-deviants.

3 (b) Lower deviants will be more likely to have no neighbors as friends than will non-deviants.

It might be expected that lower deviants would be more rather than less satisfied with the school program because of the social advantages of their children's contacts with higher status children. On the other hand, these contacts could have the effect of drawing the lower status of the lower deviant to the attention of the neighbors and of himself. The third prediction is, in a sense, exploratory and is based on this latter possibility. It is also expected that lower deviants will avoid neighborhood contact to avoid drawing incongruence to the attention of other residents. This is expected to be true especially where it would be difficult to raise other factors which may be lower, such as education. It may also be expected that lower deviants would be avoided by other residents in social contacts. Therefore, lower deviants are predicted to be more likely to have no neighbors as friends than are non-deviants.

It should be noted that the first hypothesis is similar to that presented by Øyen. The major difference between the approach used in this study and that of Øyen's occurs in the emphasis on forces operating as "pushes and pulls" on the individual in his choice of residential location, and in the assumptions about human behavior which must be made. Reference group theory assumes that the neighborhood is a significant reference group for most, if not all, individuals. Residential mobility and residential location thus become an adjustment of reference groups to individual requirements. It is assumed that individual social status is a major factor in the adequacy of reference groups. Thus by

implication, if adequate neighborhood reference groups are necessary to individuals and these are based on similar social status, residential areas will become differentiated and relatively homogeneous along these lines.

Status congruence theory sees residential location as a response to requirements which arise from non-neighborhood sources. In these terms, location is "proper" or "improper" according to expectations, general or specific, which are attached to other status factors related to the individual's social position. Thus, if only certain types of residential locations are sanctioned for persons of given social status, residential areas will tend to become differentiated and relatively homogeneous.

Plan of the Thesis

The remainder of the thesis will deal with method and data analysis. The following chapter contains a description of the data and method of analysis. It also contains the operational definition of the variables referred to in the predictions. Chapters 3 and 4 contain the data analysis and description of findings. The predictions concerning upper deviants are reported in Chapter 3, while the predictions concerning lower deviants are reported in Chapter 4. Relevant control variables are applied in these chapters. The final chapter includes a summary of the findings, conclusions, and suggestions for further study. Questionnaire items and tables reporting statistical findings are to be found in Appendices A and B, respectively.

FOOTNOTES

¹Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., et. al., "Methods of Differentiating Urban Social and Demographic Areas," Papers Presented at the Census Tract Conference, December 29, 1958, (Washington: United States Department of Commerce, 1959), p. 1.

²Much of the literature assumes the patterns to exist, but there is as yet little agreement on the best way to identify such areas. In part, the method of identification is related to an explanation of the process which gives rise to such areas. See Alvin Boskoff, The Sociology of Urban Regions, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962, p. 97 ff., for a brief but relatively simple description of some historical and more recent approaches to natural areas.

³That is, neither income nor education can predict the residential separation of occupational groups. Different indicators of residential separation result in the delimitation of different areas, when single indicators are used. While part of the problem may be seen as a delimitation of the boundaries of social areas, these differences point out that social areas are not "caused" by income or by education.

⁴Ørjar Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo," (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, 1962), p. 6. The dissertation was published by Oslo University Press in 1964. The source quoted here is the original dissertation.

⁵Arnold S. Feldman and Charles Tilly, "The Interaction of Social and Physical Space," American Sociological Review, 25 (December, 1960), pp. 877-884.

⁶Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," American Sociological Review, 10 (April, 1945), pp. 140-148.

⁷Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, LX (March, 1955), pp. 493-503. Variations in segregation were found to be related to father's occupation.

⁸Feldman and Tilly, op. cit., p. 883.

⁹Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo," p. 11. The reference is to a study not translated into English. The original source was not checked.

¹⁰Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo." This study is in part an attempt at replication. Øyen's methodology has been followed as much as possible and many of the assumptions made here are similar to those made by Øyen. Because this study made use of available data, the dependent variables are not the same.

¹¹Ørjar Øyen, "A Search for Predictors of Residential Mobility: A Follow-up Study of Contextual Position," (Institute for Sociological Research, University of Washington, May, 1967), p. 4. (Mimeographed). Anchorage point can be considered as roughly equivalent to neighborhood status average, as perceived by residents. See also, Hans L. Zetterberg, "On Motivation," in Sociological Theories in Progress, Joseph Berger, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Bo Anderson, eds., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), pp. 124-141. Zetterberg defines an anchorage point as some average or typical rank for a collective, and speaks of an evaluative score as the individual score with reference to the collective. p. 137. This appears to be equivalent to what Lazarsfeld calls comparative properties. See footnote 6, Chapter 2.

¹²Øyen cited evidence which implied that downward deviants, if their deviation was extreme, would find their self image damaged by the constant invidious comparisons of their own characteristics to those of a higher "quality" reference group. The general tendency is for individuals to choose as reference groups those which may enhance or maintain one's self-image and to avoid those which do not. It is unclear at what point the neighborhood would cease to enhance the lower deviant's self-image: Therefore, he may act either way. It might be pointed out that the same problem exists for upper deviants. It might be argued that for some, "being a big fish in a small pond", might be more rewarding than a move to another area.

¹³"Status congruence theory" has been identified by several names. In this study the terms are used in the sense that Homans uses them. That is, status congruence is a characteristic of a relationship rather than an individual. See Andrzej Malewski, "The Degree of Status Incongruence and Its Effects," in Class, Status and Power, second edition, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 303-308. See especially p. 303.

¹⁴Footnote 6, Chapter 2 in this study provides a reference to contextual analysis. Øyen's assumptions implied that reference groups are chosen on the basis of an overall dimension of social status. His method of comparison utilized differences in status to predict attachment to and orientation toward, the neighborhood. It follows, therefore, to base analysis on a theory of status incongruence. The point at issue here is not whether reference groups are a factor, but where they are located.

¹⁵The location of psychological area boundaries remains a problem. However, the use of the term "residential area" is felt to be conceptually easier to understand because of the lack of connotations of face to face interaction. It is assumed here that people react to rather vaguely defined physical aspects of the area as well as to other residents. On the basis of this assumption, it is possible to identify roughly the boundaries of an area by homogeneity of appearance, rather than agreement of the residents on the boundaries of the area. The assumption that residents react to the area as a reference entity, in the sense of a comparison point, must still be made if analysis is to be carried out. The point is that it is area status which forms the point of comparison and that area status is a rather passive point of reference rather than a normative perspective which guides our behavior.

¹⁶George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961, p. 250.

¹⁷Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958, p. 106. It is the contention in this study that these expectations form the "audience" to which people may react in their choice of residential location. It should be noted that Hughes is speaking specifically of work groups and seems to imply that this is specific to the professions. It makes some sense to generalize that these expectations are tied to occupation, education, income and other major status hierarchies and that expectations differ depending on position in any given hierarchy, but that expectations exist for any given position on any given hierarchy. Therefore, a certain residential location may be expected of a person with a given occupation, or education, or income.

¹⁸Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, 9 (April, 1944), pp. 151-161. The connection between spatial areas and social characteristics is made presumptively. Benoit-Smullyan uses the term situs to describe the characterization. "Neighborhoods and clubs are evaluated as "good" or "bad" in accordance with the status which membership within them presumptively reveals." p. 154.

¹⁹H. Lawrence Ross, "The Local Community: A Survey Approach," American Sociological Review, 27 (February, 1962), pp. 75-84. Ross' evidence suggests that accurate characterizations of the class and ethnic origins of residents (as measured by census data) are connoted by area names. Ross believed that the difficulty of other studies which failed to confirm this was in the wording of the question in terms of neighborhood rather than area of residence. It might be speculated that the term "neighborhood" was not significant to many respondents. See also, Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1949, pp. 61-62.

²⁰A major justification for this assumption is that it is made by many sociologists and ecologists. Residential areas are commonly used to describe residents, whether demographic or social characteristics are taken as the characterization. While there is still a problem of how homogeneous residential areas may be, there is common agreement that the area forms an important context from which behavior or other characteristics may be inferred.

²¹Most of the studies of status inconsistency imply some sort of stress connected with this condition. Some of these are: Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 405-413.; Elton F. Jackson, "Status Consistency and Symptoms of Stress," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), pp. 469-480.; Irwin W. Goffman, "Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution," American Sociological Review, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 275-281. A common characteristic of these studies is that they measure status inconsistency in terms of discrepancies in the individual rankings on several status hierarchies, irrespective of the context in which they occur. An approach more relevant to this study is taken in: George C. Homans, op. cit., pp. 248-255. The implication here is that discrepancies in perceived status factors need not be large to produce attempts to reduce the incongruence.

²²Malewski, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

DATA AND METHOD

Data

Data Source

The data used in this study were collected in connection with a survey done for Human Resources Research and Development, Government of Alberta.¹ The writer was involved in choosing sampling areas and in the field interviewing. Data on various personal characteristics, family financial condition, and community orientation, were obtained from 579 respondents chosen from fifteen different areas of Edmonton.

The Population

The original study for which these data were collected was designed with the express purpose of identifying "pockets of poverty" in the city of Edmonton. The population was designated as the lower socio-economic class population of Edmonton. It was felt that some areas of the city might contain people who were living in marginal circumstances but who were not known to public agencies and were not readily identifiable from the area context. The most logical place to concentrate study was in the lower socio-economic areas. In order to identify the target areas, all enumeration areas in the city of Edmonton were typed using Shevky and Bell's² method of social area analysis. The typology utilized special tabulations of 1961 Census data obtained from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.³ Areas which were low ranking on the social rank score were marked for possible inclusion as sampling areas.

Areas initially chosen thus reflect lower educational status within the range of education for Edmonton according to 1961 Census data.

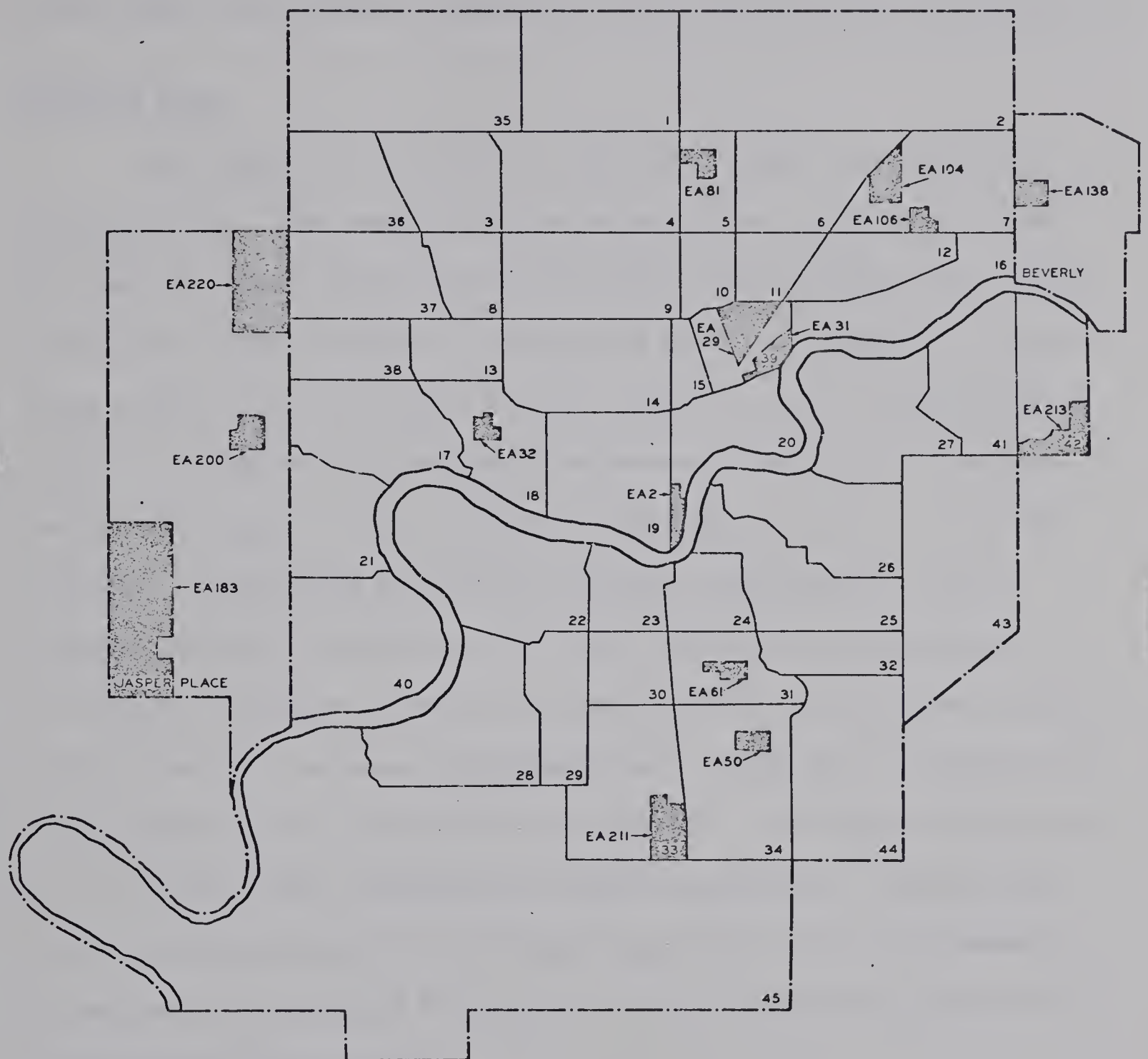
Because the study was conducted in 1966, there was a possibility that Census data were outdated. Therefore, a visual check of the proposed sampling areas was conducted. This resulted in exclusion of all but fifteen enumeration areas, on the grounds that areas excluded appeared to have changed greatly since the date of the Census. Areas which appeared to have new housing or in which new commercial and retail development appeared to have taken place were not considered, nor were areas which displayed a wide range of apparent housing values. Fifteen areas remained, characterized by relatively homogeneous appearance, and older and small dwellings in general. (See Figure 2:1 for the location of enumeration areas selected for sampling.)

The Sample

Within each area, at least a one-third systematic sample of dwelling units was taken, with smaller areas being more heavily sampled. Interviewers were instructed to start at the third residence on each block and attempt to obtain an interview at every third residence. Care was taken to avoid systematic bias in choice of dwellings, such as not including corner houses. Due to time limitations, callbacks could only be made while the interviewers were in a neighborhood. If the target respondents were not in, or refused an interview, they were replaced by another dwelling in their particular block of three houses. If no interview could be obtained in any of three dwellings, the interviewer proceeded to the sixth house and continued the procedure.

For the purpose of the original study, which was exploratory in nature, the sampling scheme was adequate. The choice of sampling

SAMPLE ENUMERATION AREAS EDMONTON, BEVERLY, AND JASPER PLACE: 1966



SOLID LINES DELIMIT THE 1961 CENSUS
TRACTS OF EDMONTON

BASE MAP PREPARED BY
POPULATION RESEARCH LABORATORY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

areas was purposive. The second stage, sampling within areas, was designed to reach as many residents as possible and to obtain a fairly large sample rather than a smaller one which was strictly representative.

Sampling Bias

The choice of areas and the method of sample selection both introduce bias. The sample reflects areas of low educational status. No areas of largely high educational status were included. The sample is thus not representative of the city of Edmonton. Choice of sampling areas tended to select areas of older housing as well as areas which could be classified as relatively homogeneous with regard to housing and general upkeep. Due to the method of drawing the sample and the necessity to interview only during the day, overrepresentation of retired residents and families with small children can be expected. In addition, families in which both adult members are employed would be underrepresented, because interviewers were instructed to include only adult members of the household in the sample. One further possible bias was due to the large proportion of female respondents. Females were greatly overrepresented in the study largely due to the requirements of daytime interviewing.⁴ The extent to which these biases affect the present study is not known.

The Sample in Relation to the Present Study

The sample obtained for the original study is not ideal for the present study. A purposive sample is called for and a two stage area sample design would be entirely adequate, but it must be recognized that the purposes for which the data were gathered are not strictly comparable to the purposes of the present study. Ideally, study areas

should be representative of all areas in the city and samples within the areas should be representative of the residents and large enough to allow analysis of each area separately. To do this, of course, would require financial resources beyond those available for the present study.

The decision to use data already collected, in the face of the problems involved, was almost entirely pragmatic. Certain items were amenable to analysis in a fashion similar to the study done by Øyen.⁵ Resources to draw a sample more appropriate to the problem were not available, yet the problem was theoretically interesting enough to study. Traditional sources of data for studies of this nature were not useful. Therefore it was decided to use available data, though it is somewhat inadequate, rather than abandon what might be a fruitful problem.

Method

Analytic Scheme

The method of analysis used is contextual analysis.⁶ With this type of analysis individuals are considered to have certain characteristics as a result of being members of a collective, in addition to their own personal characteristics. Similarities in behavior are considered to result from membership, irrespective of personal differences. An example would be analysis carried out using members of a fraternity and members of a boarding house as sampling units. The assumption made is that the different contexts, "fraternity" and "boarding house" make a difference in outlook, which produces uniformities in behavior for each of the groups, and differences between them.

In this study, being high or low on measures of occupational

status and educational attainment, with reference to the range of the individual's residential area, is taken as an important context within which behavior takes place. More generally, relative position in the neighborhood, whether high, middle or low on the range, is considered to be an important factor relating to a person's behavior toward that area. Thus "being high on education" may be seen as a contextual attribute, regardless of the status of the neighborhood.⁷ Our assumption is that position in the area affects responses in the same way, regardless of area status. It is on the basis of this assumption that individuals at the top of the occupational and educational ranges have been treated as a group, as have those in the middle and at the bottom of the range. For example, persons with objectively high and low education, say university degree and grade 9 respectively, may have been grouped together in the "upper deviant" category if each was relatively high for the area in which he lives. The attribute "being at the top (middle, bottom) of the range" has been taken as the independent variable, and area status ignored.

Individuals have been grouped into one of three categories for each of the variables, occupation and education. These three categories have been cross-tabulated with dependent variables and appropriate controls applied. While it was desirable to apply controls simultaneously in some cases, the size of the sample was not large enough to allow this.

The Independent Variables

In this study, personal position on a general dimension of social class, in relation to area placement on the same continuum of class, has been predicted to affect an individual's orientation to his residential

area and his plans to move. This general dimension is reflected by such commonly used measures of social class as occupation, education, and income. For present purposes, two indicators, occupation and education, were chosen as measures upon which comparative position could be based. Both are felt to be important dimensions of status for an individual.

Occupation is undoubtedly an important factor in an adult's life and a factor from which a great deal of status is drawn. "If the time we spend at various activities is in any way indicative of their importance for social stratification, it would be hard to think of a more salient membership group than occupation."⁸ Assuming that Hughes⁹ is correct, it may be expected that status incongruence could develop along the dimension of occupation.

Education is not as clearly an important factor of status. One may assume that education provides an individual with a "style of life" or a perspective and that similarly educated people have similar perspectives. Yet in the sense of status incongruence, education is a peripheral consideration to occupation. While it may be safely assumed that a person with high education should have a fairly high prestige occupation and fairly high income, it would seem that residential areas would not be directly related to a type of area thought appropriate for a certain educational status.

It might, however, be expected that a person would experience incongruence if his education was different from that expected of the residents in his "type" of area. Particularly if a person is better educated than his ascribed area status would indicate, he might have the unpleasant experience of being treated as ignorant or uneducated

when in fact he is not.

Deviant position defined. - Individuals were defined as being deviant if they fell into the upper or lower quartile of the range for their area on measures of occupational scores and years of education found in the sample for each area. An independently defined range for each area would have been ideal, but reliable data concerning the areas were not available. Census data on education were five years old and census data on occupations were impossible to obtain.

In view of the concept of a "modal type" of individual characterizing area status, the middle two quartiles of the range were defined as composing the normal range for that area. Individuals whose occupations or education placed them in the middle were classified as non-deviant with respect to expectations about the area. Individuals whose scores placed them in the upper or lower quartiles of the range were classified respectively as upper and as lower deviants.

The two measures were applied separately rather than as a composite measure. The degree of association was quite low between occupational position and educational position as defined in the foregoing paragraphs. Accordingly, it was decided not to combine the two variables into an index.

Occupational position. - Occupational position was determined by applying scores for occupations developed from 1950 U.S. census data, based on the combined average levels of education and income for males in all occupations in the U.S. in 1950.¹⁰ This represents an average score for the occupation.

Using the number of workers in each occupation, a cumulative distribution

was obtained. The score for a given occupation was then determined by taking the midpoint of the cumulative percentage interval for that occupation. The occupational scores obtained by this procedure indicate the position of the average person in a given occupation, based on the education and income distributions for that occupation. This score may differ from that which would be assigned on the basis of judgment or other determinations about the prestige of the occupation.¹¹

The values were applied directly to occupations stated by the respondents. Those stating no occupation because of retirement, permanent unemployment or no male in the residence, were excluded. Only male occupations were classified. Though the values were derived from U.S. census data, it was decided to use them as a rank ordering device for reported occupations. The range of occupational scores for each area was developed, for this sample, and residents classified as upper, middle and lower depending on whether they fell into the upper, middle two or lower quartiles of the range within their area respectively. Where the quartile range fell in the middle of a group with the same score, the group was included or excluded according to the closest fit with the quartile range that could be obtained. (The quartile ranges are reported in Table 2:1.)

This particular occupational scale was chosen for several reasons. Most occupational prestige scales are constructed for a limited number of occupations, and in general are overrepresented by higher occupations. Our data were expected to contain a rather large proportion of lower prestige occupations, scores for which would have to be interpolated.¹² The advantage of using a scale which covers all occupations is obvious. A scale constructed on the basis of U.S. data was used rather than Blishen's 1951 scale on the assumption that Canadian wage and education

TABLE 2:1
OCCUPATIONAL POSITION BY ENUMERATION AREA, QUARTILE CUTTING POINTS

Area	002	029	031	032	050	061	081	104	106	138	183	200	211	213	220
Total	48	20	39	31	42	41	47	18	23	60	49	42	48	59	12
- N/A	9	8	7	10	1	9	14	7	1	6	7	2	2	7	3
= N	39	12	32	21	41	32	33	11	22	54	42	40	46	52	9
Quartile range	10	3	8	5	10	8	8	3	5	14	10	10	12	13	2
Lower cutting point	35	29	52	29	60	18	29	18	40	35	37	35	52	40	22
Upper cutting point	70	76	76	80	85	60	74	79	73	64	85	73	74	76	61
Lower N	9	3	9	5	9	9	8	4	5	14	10	9	12	14	2
Upper N	9	3	8	5	11	8	7	2	5	13	10	11	9	9	1

data in 1966 would be more similar to the U.S.A. in 1951 than to Canada in 1951.¹³ This assumption may be erroneous, particularly when applied to a small area of Canada, but other scales have similar deficiencies. More recent studies using 1961 Census data indicate that there is a great deal of stability in the occupational structures of both Canada and the United States over time. In addition, high correlations between ranks or occupations have been demonstrated between Canadian and U.S. occupational scales.¹⁴ A good argument may be made that the choice of scales is irrelevant in terms of validity and that the scale finally chosen depends on considerations about ease of use. The U.S. scale appeared to be more easily applicable to the occupational labels given by the respondents, and the descriptions of the type of work reported than were the other available scales.

Educational position. - Educational position was determined by assignment of upper, middle and lower categories based on the quartile range of formal educational attainment. Persons who had additional vocational training were treated as if they had formal education only. All males, whether occupied or not, were classified according to education. Only where no male was present were the respondents eliminated. Because education was not reported by single years, the quartile ranges were modified. Where the quartile cutting point fell in the middle of an educational category, the entire category was placed to give the best "fit" to the quartile range. That is, an attempt was made to place categories so that the quartile was least distorted. No educational score was applied to the sample because years of schooling can be considered as a natural scale for purposes of this study. (Quartile ranges are reported in Table 2:2.)

TABLE 2:2

EDUCATIONAL POSITION BY ENUMERATION AREA, QUARTILE CUTTING POINTS

Area	022	029	031	032	050	061	081	104	106	138	183	200	211	213	220
Total	48	20	39	31	42	41	47	18	23	60	49	42	48	59	12
- N/A	0	1	2	6	2	6	3	3	1	4	7	0	3	4	0
= N	48	19	37	25	40	35	44	15	22	56	42	42	45	55	12
Quartile range	12	5	9	6	10	9	11	4	5	14	10	10	11	14	3
Lower cutting point	Gr 8	Gr 5	Gr 9	Gr 8	Gr 9	Gr 5	Gr 5	Gr 5	Gr 5	Gr 5	Gr 10	None*	Gr 8	Gr 8	Gr 5
Upper cutting point	Gr 12	Gr 10	Univ	Gr 12	Univ	Gr 12	Gr 10	Gr 10	Gr 12	Gr 10	Univ	Gr 12	Gr 12	Gr 12	Gr 12
Lower N	18	6	10	7	4	2	7	3	4	5	10	0	11	16	2
Upper N	6	6	4	9	7	4	13	4	2	9	4	9	11	19	1

* EA200 had 1 Grade 1-5 and 22 Gr 6.8. These were considered as middles rather than lows. Therefore, EA200 contained no lower cutting point.

The Dependent Variables

The dependent variables fall into four categories: satisfaction with the dwelling, plans to move, satisfaction with the school program, and number of neighbors as friends, or neighboring. Dependent variables are considered to reflect neighborhood orientation and feelings about the area as a place to live.

Satisfaction with the dwelling. - Satisfaction with the dwelling was measured by response to the question: "How satisfied are you with your present house?" Responses could range through five categories; very satisfied, satisfied, so-so, dissatisfied, and very dissatisfied. For purposes of this study the responses were dichotomized, with dissatisfied and very dissatisfied responses taken to represent dissatisfaction with the home.

This is taken to be a rough indicator of general satisfaction with the area. It is expected that those less attached to the area will express a higher proportion of complaints than those who are attached.

Considering a move in the near future. - Respondents were asked whether they were considering moving in the near future. While "don't know" responses were allowed, very few expressed indecision. Only people who stated they were considering a move in the near future were included as potential movers. This was treated as an indicator of actual mobility. It was assumed that residents who are considering a move have reached the stage of planning indicating an actual move.

Though no follow-up of actual mobility was planned or carried out, some evidence that plans to move indicate actual mobility exists in the literature.¹⁵ Whether or not this holds true for the present

sample, considering a move can be taken as an indicator of the existence of a more satisfying residential location.

Satisfaction with the school program. - Satisfaction with the school program was stated in terms of very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied and very dissatisfied. A response of no opinion was included. For purposes of this study, somewhat dissatisfied and very dissatisfied indicate dissatisfaction with the school program. Calculations of the proportion dissatisfied were done both by excluding from the base those who responded "no opinion", and by including them. The proportions reported thus show those people who had an opinion and were dissatisfied, and the proportions dissatisfied of all respondents.¹⁶

The school program is a major indicator of area status. In general, the higher the area status, the better the school program. The school program also plays a large part in determining the type of social training and contacts one's child may obtain. Rossi indicates that a child's "social range" is a partial determinant of residential mobility.¹⁷ It is therefore suggested that feelings about the school program will indicate feelings about the area as a place for children to grow up and feelings about the general status of the area.

Number of neighbors who are friends. - The number of neighbors who could be counted as friends referred only to the immediate neighbors. "Immediate" was left to be defined subjectively by the respondents. Responses were originally coded none, one, two, three or all. Any number over three was classified as all. This category could include, therefore, different levels of all neighbors as friends. There is a problem in interpreting the meaning of "all" neighbors as friends. There

is a possibility that this type of response could mean the respondent was positively oriented toward interaction with neighbors, or that the respondent was indifferent and actually did not know his neighbors.

"All my neighbors are friends" could mean merely that none of the neighbors are enemies. Because 57 per cent of the respondents in the "three or all" category had responded "all", it was decided to use a measure of low neighboring. This was defined as the proportion responding "none". Having no neighbors as friends is considered to be an indication of a psychological withdrawal from the area. In the case of upper deviants such withdrawal could be voluntary. In the case of lower deviants, lack of neighbors as friends is expected on the basis of attempts to hide lower status factors.

Control Factors

Certain evidence indicates that residential mobility may be in part affected by social mobility status.¹⁸ Three factors, which may affect the main relationship hypothesized to exist between satisfaction and position in the area, have been introduced as controls. These factors refer to perceived ease of physical mobility and to present occupational mobility chances. If it is easy for a resident to move, status incongruence will be less likely to affect his feelings about the area. A person who is upwardly mobile will react to his area on the basis of his expected future position. In other words, subjective position in the area, as well as objective position, can be expected to have an effect on individual orientation to the area. In addition, annual income was controlled.

Age.- All respondents were categorized by age. The categories

chosen for this study were dichotomized at age 40. While this may not be the optimum age distinction, those people who are 40 and over are expected to have more difficulty in moving than those under 40. It is also expected that persons over 40 will have, in general, less reason to move. Position in the area should have a stronger effect on neighborhood orientation among the older group than the younger.

Home ownership. - Home owners may be more able to move than renters, in the sense that they have more assets to apply to a move. On the other hand, it is more complicated to sell a house and move possessions than it is to give notice on an apartment or rented house. We would expect that renters would be more able to move and thus less affected by their position in the area.

Chances for job improvement. - The perceived chances for job improvement are taken as an indicator of subjective social mobility chances. Responses "excellent" and "good" were coded as good chances. Responses "average" and "poor" were coded average. Response "very poor" was coded poor. Because of the small proportions who responded "very poor" these responses were combined with those coded as average. This category was reported separately. Thus the categories used reflect reactions of people who have good mobility chances, average mobility chances and, finally, less than good chances. It is expected that respondents who saw their chances as average or poorer did not have much hope for strong upward mobility.

Income. - Income in this study refers to annual household income from all sources for the year 1965. High income refers to people whose total household income was \$4000 or more. Low income refers to

those whose income was below that amount.

Statistical Measures

The measure of association used for analysis is Yule's Q.¹⁹ Due to differing hypotheses concerning upper and lower deviants, some combinations of which predicted a non-linear relationship, Yule's Q was calculated for each relationship predicted. This meant having separate tests for upper and lower deviants. In addition, the significance of proportional differences was calculated using standard techniques.²⁰ Tables appear throughout the text.

Tables showing percentages are contained in Appendix B. Only percentages dissatisfied, or planning a move, are included in the tables. That is, one dimension of the tabulations is excluded to enhance clarity of presentation.²¹ Marginal frequencies on which the percentages were based are presented in a separate table. Slight variations in the number of respondents due to non-response were ignored. Thus the numbers represent the largest number of respondents in each category of the tables.

FOOTNOTES

¹George Kupfer, Edmonton Study, Edmonton: Human Resources Research and Development, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, March, 1967. The data were collected in the summer of 1966.

²Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955.

³Data for enumeration areas is not ordinarily available. These were data gathered during the 1961 Census of Canada but which had to be obtained through special computer runs. Data for enumeration areas were deficient in that only education and fertility ratios were made available for the Social Rank and Urbanization dimensions, respectively, of the Social Area typology.

⁴Any responsible member of the household was accepted as a respondent. This may have led to distortion of some responses. However, both Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo," and Ross, op. cit., made the assumption that female responses accurately reflected family attitudes. The major difficulty for this study is that occupations, income and education of the male head of the household may have been distorted.

⁵Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo."

⁶Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Evidence and Inference in Social Research," Daedalus, 87 (Fall, 1958), p. 115. The type of analysis used here makes use of what Lazarsfeld calls comparative properties of individuals. "These characterize a member by a comparison between his value on some (absolute or relational) property with the distribution of this property over the entire collective of which he is a member." Øyen, "Ecological Context and Residential Differentiation: Neighborhood Attachment in Four Areas of Oslo," also made use of comparative properties, but viewed behavior as resulting from the context in which it took place. Thus position within the area can be seen as position in a context. We have used Øyen's term with this meaning.

⁷ This allows diverse areas to be studied together. It does, of course, hide differences related to the status ranks of different areas.

⁸ Robert W. Hodge, "The Status Consistency of Occupational Groups," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), p. 337.

⁹ Hughes, op. cit.

¹⁰ United States Bureau of the Census, Methodology and Scores of Socio-economic Status, Census Working Paper No. 15, Washington, D.C., 1963.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹² This disadvantage has been pointed out in several articles. See for instance, Peter C. Pineo and John Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 4 (February, 1967), pp. 24-40.

¹³ Bernard Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 24 (November, 1958), pp. 519-531.

¹⁴ Bernard Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 4 (February, 1967), pp. 41-53. Blishen reports a correlation of .94 between Canadian and U.S. data. Other studies report a great deal of stability in occupational ranking over time as well as cross-nationally. See Robert W. Hodge, Donald J. Freiman and Peter H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige," in Class, Status and Power, second edition, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, eds., (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 309-321.

¹⁵ Ørjar Øyen, "A Search for Predictors of Residential Mobility: A Follow-up Study of Contextual Position." Mobility aspirations were associated with actual moves for upper deviants. Gerald R. Leslie and Arthur H. Richardson, "Life Cycle, Career Pattern, and the Decision to Move," American Sociological Review, 26 (December, 1961), pp. 894-902, used intentions to move as an indicator of actual mobility.

¹⁶ No opinion responses in this instance may reflect a neutrality of feeling toward the school, or a lack of information upon which to base an opinion. The more relevant measure of dissatisfaction depends on how no opinion responses are interpreted.

¹⁷Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955, p. 179.

¹⁸Ibid. See also: Leslie and Richardson, op. cit.; Duncan and Duncan, op. cit.; Øyen, "A Search for Predictors of Residential Mobility: A Follow-up Study of Contextual Position."

¹⁹Yule's Q is equivalent to gamma in the fourfold table. See Morris Zelditch, Jr., A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959, pp. 168-187. For an interpretation of Q values see John H. Mueller and Karl F. Schuessler, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961, pp. 242-249. In this study, values between .20 and .40 have been considered as moderate, values above .40 as moderately high. The significance of Q has not been calculated, but it is doubtful that many of the values approach statistical significance at the .01 level.

²⁰The test used is the t test for significance of difference in proportions between independently drawn samples. Use of this test violated assumptions of independently drawn samples and the assumption of random sampling procedures. Because of these factors, differences must be seen as rough indicators of statistical significance only. The source of computational formulae is: Henry E. Garrett, Statistics in Psychology and Education, New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1962, pp. 235-236.

²¹The cell frequencies of the entire table can be reconstructed by multiplying the proportion dissatisfied by the total frequencies reported to obtain the number dissatisfied, then subtracting this number from the total to obtain the number satisfied.

CHAPTER III
UPPER DEVIANCE AND ORIENTATION
TOWARD RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

In this chapter, the evidence for Hypothesis 1 is considered, through tests of four predictions concerning upper deviants. Each prediction is tested first by the data based on occupational position, then by the data based on educational position. Relevant controls are applied in each case. The findings are discussed at the end of the chapter.

Prediction 1 (a)

Prediction 1 (a) states:

Upper deviants will be more likely
to be dissatisfied with their homes
than will non-deviants.

Occupational Position

Table 3:1 indicates there is little difference in satisfaction between upper- and non-deviants when the total sample is considered. This lack of relationship is confirmed regardless of home ownership status, but there appears to be interaction between occupational position and the other three controls.

In the younger age group, upper position bears a moderate relationship to dissatisfaction with the home. The difference in the percentage dissatisfied between upper and non-deviants is significant at the .05 level. In the older age group, however, the direction of association is reversed: Upper deviants are more likely to be satisfied with their homes: The difference in percentage dissatisfied is

TABLE 3:1

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 1 (a): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE HOME,
UPPER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	-.05	-.27 ^b	+.81 ^c	-.09	+.00	+.19	-.48 ^b	-.44	-.24	+.35
Educational	-.25 ^b	-.37 ^c	+.25	-.43 ^b	-.15	-.24	-.44 ^b	-.39	-.18	-.33

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages dissatisfied is significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

^cDifference in percentages significant at the .01 level.

significant at the .01 level. Similar findings occur when income and when job chances are controlled, though the association is not as strong, nor are differences significant at the .05 level.

Educational Position

There is a moderate degree of relationship between upper educational position and dissatisfaction with the home when the sample as a whole is considered. With the exception of those in the older age group (40 years and older), the direction of the relationship is maintained throughout all control levels. The degree of association is weaker among those who rent, those with good job chances, and those with low incomes. Table 3:1 shows the values of Yule's Q for the various relationships.

Prediction 1 (b)

Prediction 1 (b) states:

Upper deviants will be more likely
to be considering a move in the near
future than will non-deviants.

Occupational Position

For the sample as a whole, there is no difference between upper deviants and non-deviants in the relative numbers considering a move in the near future. Little difference is observed when home ownership and income are controlled. (See Table 3:2)

There appears to be interaction between age and plans to move, and between job chances and plans to move, though in neither case are the differences significant at the .05 level. While upper deviants with good job chances are somewhat more likely to be considering a move, the most interesting finding is that, among the older group, and

TABLE 3:2

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 1 (b): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND CONSIDERATION OF A MOVE IN THE NEAR
FUTURE, UPPER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	+ .03	+ .10	- .20	- .02	+ .08	+ .19	- .31	- .21	+ .06	- .02
Educational	+ .14	+ .19	- .03	- .01	+ .18	+ .41 ^c	- .09	- .33 ^c	+ .18	+ .18

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^cDifference in percentages significant at the .01 level.

where job chances are average, upper deviants are less likely to be considering a move than are non-deviants.

Educational Position

There is only a weak association between position and considering a move in the total sample. This association is accounted for by the younger age group and by renters. There is no difference among older people and home owners attributable to educational position.

A striking feature of the data is the apparently strong interaction effect of job chances. Where job chances are good, upper deviants are more likely to be considering a move than are non-deviants, but where job chances are poor, upper deviants are less likely to be considering a move. In both cases the differences in percentages planning a move are significant at the .01 level.

Prediction 1 (c)

Prediction 1 (c) states:

Upper deviants are more likely to be dissatisfied with the school program than are non-deviants.

Occupational Position

The prediction that upper deviants are more likely to be dissatisfied with the school program than are lower deviants is supported by the data. Percentage differences are significant at the .01 level. In two instances, the original relationship changes substantially. Where job chances are good, the association between position and satisfaction with the school program is weakened considerably. Where income is low, the direction of the original relationship is reversed. As can be seen from Table 3:3, many of the percentage differences were

TABLE 3:3

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 1 (c): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM,
UPPER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	-.52 ^c	-.49 ^b	-.56	-.61 ^b	-.49 ^b	-.19	-.81 ^c	-.85	-.56 ^c	+.35
Educational	-.32 ^b	-.20	-.58 ^b	-.52 ^b	-.15	-.09	-.36 ^c	-.59	-.15	-.46

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages dissatisfied is significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

^cDifference in percentages significant at the .01 level.

Note: No Opinion responses excluded.

statistically significant.

Educational Position

The degree of association between position and satisfaction with the school program is moderate in the total sample, with the percentage difference being significant at the .05 level. The pattern of relationships in the controlled conditions shows a weak association among younger people, renters, those with good job chances and those with high incomes.

Prediction 1 (d)

Prediction 1 (d) states:

Upper deviants are more likely to have no neighbors as friends than are non-deviants.

Occupational Position

There is virtually no relationship between occupational position and having no neighbors as friends in the total sample. In the controlled conditions, the association is moderate among the older group and among those with low income, but in a direction opposite to that predicted. All other relationships are weak.

Job chances do not seem to have much effect on the original relationship except when average and poor chances are combined. Upper deviants are thus slightly more likely to have no neighbors as friends than are non-deviants except among the older group, those with poor job chances and those with low incomes.

Educational Position

There is no relationship between educational position and having

TABLE 3:4

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 1 (d): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND HAVING NO NEIGHBORS AS FRIENDS,
UPPER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	+ .07	+ .17	-.32	+ .00	+ .12	+ .14	+ .13	-.06	+ .16	-.32
Educational	-.05	+ .12	-.40 ^b	-.31	+ .06	+ .00	+ .16	-.11 ^b	+ .16	-.46 ^b

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages dissatisfied is significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

no neighbors as friends in the total sample. Controls show much the same pattern as with occupational position. Two exceptions should be noted: among home owners, non-deviants are more likely to have no neighbors as friends than are upper deviants; the difference in percentage with no neighbors as friends among those with poor job chances is significant at the .05 level.

Summary and Discussion

Prediction 1 (a) received only moderate support in the total sample, and this only when educational position was used to stratify the sample. The relationship changed radically under control, however, and certain conditions appeared to have a multiplier effect on the association between position and satisfaction with the home. Occupational position and educational position had somewhat different effects and will be discussed separately.

High occupational position was related to dissatisfaction with the home among the younger age group and those with high incomes. It would seem that for consistency, this relationship would follow for people with good job chances also. This was not the case: upper deviants with good job chances were somewhat more likely to be satisfied with their homes than were non-deviants, whereas when job chances were average, the relationship was reversed and became stronger. A possible explanation for this would be that upper deviants with good job chances would find mobility easier and therefore would tend not to express dissatisfaction. A speculative interpretation would be that where mobility may be problematic, upper deviants would tend to react with complaints about the home. Where mobility is not problematic in the sense that it is either highly likely or highly unlikely, upper deviants would tend

not to complain about the home. This is consistent with the suggestion that complaints are a prelude to a move, though for sure, the single question used here is not an adequate measure of complaints. It also leads to the possibility that satisfaction can be interpreted as lack of complaints or as lack of relevance of the present home. Both have been implicit in the above speculations.

High educational position was related to dissatisfaction with the home except among the older age group. The pattern of relationships leads to the rather obvious conclusion that a situation is less cause for complaint if it may be eliminated. Except for the age results, the relationships may be interpreted as suggesting that incongruence decreases when the situation may be seen as changeable. Thus the relationship between upper position and dissatisfaction decreases when other conditions suggest the incongruence may be temporary: among renters, among those with good job chances and among those with high incomes.

Prediction 1 (b) was not supported by the data, though there were some weak indications that upper position was related to a higher probability of considering a move. The apparent interaction between position and job chances suggests that upper position by itself may not be enough to trigger a move. If other conditions are favorable, upper deviants are more likely to be considering a move than are non-deviants, but if conditions are not favorable, upper deviants tend to prefer to remain where they are, more so than do non-deviants.

Certain differences between occupational and educational position seem worthy of discussion. Upper deviant position on occupation is only weakly associated with consideration of a move when job chances are good. When job chances are average, upper deviants are more likely not to plan

a move, but when job chances are poor, this relationship again decreases. It seems that when a relatively high position has been achieved, and when advancement beyond this position is not likely to occur, upper deviants tend to plan to stay in the area. Upper deviant position on education is somewhat different. Changes in plans to move again take place depending on job chances, but the group with average chances show about the same propensity to plan a move. When chances are good or poor, upper deviants are much more likely to move or stay respectively, than are non-deviants. As Table 3:2 combines people with average and poor chances under the category "poor", it would seem that upper educational position is quite strongly associated with plans to stay in the area when job chances are poor. The differences in relationships may be partially explained by the suggestion that upward occupational mobility is an impetus to move more so when a person is also in the upper educational category. This must remain only a suggestion for the moment.

A final point for discussion is the interesting finding that consideration of a move is not apparently based on income. This is contrary to some suggestions in the literature. It is, of course, possible that the results are the results of the cutting points chosen, and that finer distinctions of income would provide different results. It may also be that plans to move are based on consideration of several factors, and that anticipated future income rather than present income is a decisive factor. Although this point apparently has never been studied, common-sense observation suggests that this is likely to be the case in many instances.

Prediction 1 (c) received moderate and consistent support

throughout most of the relationships. This was true no matter whether no opinion responses were included as satisfied response or were excluded as irrelevant. Because different numbers of people in each contextual position responded with no opinion, it was felt to be more realistic to study dissatisfaction only among people who expressed an opinion about the school program. The findings reported in Table 3:3 therefore exclude "no opinion" responses.

Only two exceptions to the general support are evident by occupational position. These include a decrease in the correlation where job chances are good and a reversal where income is low. It is suggested that when job chances are good, and upward occupational mobility is expected, the quality of the school program becomes an important factor regardless of present relative occupational position. The question of whether satisfaction increases or decreases is not dealt with here. The differences in dissatisfaction attributable to occupational position in the present study are affected by job chances more than any other factor which is considered.

The findings by educational position show a somewhat different pattern; overall association is somewhat weaker, and controlled factors have a greater effect on the original relationship. An interpretation which seems to describe the pattern, again making some assumptions about other factors, is that the school program is more likely to be a source of dissatisfaction for upper deviants than for non-deviants under conditions where it may be assumed that residential mobility is unlikely. There is a moderately strong relationship between upper educational position and dissatisfaction with the school program among older people, home owners, those with poorer job chances and those with

low incomes; the groups one would expect to be least likely to move, ceteris paribus.

The findings in regard to having no neighbors as friends suggest that low neighborhood contacts are not related to contextual position in the manner predicted. While there is a weak relationship between upper position and having no neighbors as friends under some conditions, it appears more likely that under conditions where residential mobility might be difficult, upper deviants are less likely than non-deviants to have no neighbors as friends. Other factors appear to be interacting with position in this case. It may be speculated that non-deviants who have little chance for improvement of their situation may feel incongruence in a society where upward social mobility is expected. This suggestion does little but point out the need for a measure of perceived incongruence rather than, or in conjunction with, the objective measure used here.

Conclusions

Hypothesis 1 was not well supported by the findings. While some of the predictions were confirmed, it appears that contextual position alone is not a deciding factor in reactions toward the neighborhood.

Different indicators produced different findings about the effects of position on satisfaction. It appears that complaints about various aspects of the area are more strongly associated with upper position when it may be difficult to undertake a residential move. Differences in plans to move support this conclusion. A relatively high position on the social status dimensions of the residential area appears to compensate for the possible lack of mobility on other factors. That is, at some point in time a person decides he has "found his level" and

satisfaction increases. This leads to the conclusion that non-deviants who have fewer social mobility chances are more likely than upper deviants to be dissatisfied. Upper position compensates for lack of upward mobility, which may in itself be a status factor. Assuming that continued achievement is expected in general in our society, non-deviants who are not able to continue achieving may be the people in the area who experience status incongruence or some feelings of incongruence.

CHAPTER IV
LOWER DEVIANCE AND ORIENTATION
TOWARD RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

In this chapter, the evidence for Hypotheses 2 and 3 is considered, through tests of four predictions concerning lower deviants. The format of the preceding chapter is followed, with discussion and conclusions appearing at the end of the chapter.

Prediction 2 (a)

Prediction 2 (a) states:

Lower deviants will be more likely to be satisfied with their homes than will non-deviants.

Occupational Position

There is little difference attributable to occupational position within the sample as a whole. When control variables are applied, correlations in the predicted direction are found among the older age group, among home owners, among those with good job chances and among those with low incomes. In each case, there appears to be interaction, as the direction of the relationship reverses in the second control category. As can be seen from Table 4:1, several of the differences in proportions dissatisfied with the home are significant at the .05 level. The age categories are particularly striking, with differences being significant in both the younger and older age groups.

Educational Position

The relationship between educational position and satisfaction

TABLE 4:1

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 2 (a): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE HOME,
LOWER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Occupational	+ .08	+ .30 ^b	- .48 ^b	- .16	+ .20	- .13	+ .36 ^b	+ .29	+ .42 ^b	- .22
Educational	+ .05	+ .14	- .04	+ .40 ^b	- .23	+ .11	- .13	+ .01	+ .13	- .05

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages dissatisfied is significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

is for the most part weak, both in the total sample and in the controlled conditions. Home ownership is the only factor which makes an appreciable difference to the relationship: lower deviants are less satisfied than non-deviants among home owners and are more satisfied than non-deviants among renters. The difference is significant at the .05 level among home owners.

Prediction 2 (b)

Prediction 2 (b) states:

Lower deviants are less likely to be considering a move in the near future than area non-deviants.

Occupational Position

Table 4:2 shows a weak negative relationship between occupational position and plans to move in the overall sample. Lower deviants are more likely to be considering a move than are non-deviants. The original relationship carries through when other factors are controlled, diminishing slightly in some cases. The only instance where interaction appears is when income is controlled. Lower deviants are more likely than non-deviants to plan a move when income is high, but less likely when income is low. In other instances, while the relationship decreases, it is not reversed.

Educational Position

Lower deviants on educational position are somewhat less likely to be considering a move than are non-deviants, when the total sample is considered. The direction of the relationship does not change when other conditions are controlled. In only two instances, among those with good job chances and among those with high incomes, the relation-

TABLE 4:2

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 2 (b): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND CONSIDERATION OF A MOVE IN THE NEAR
FUTURE, LOWER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Occupational	-.14	-.18	-.07	-.10	-.19	-.09	-.18	-.17	-.16 ^b	+.09
Educational	+.17	+.14	+.14	+.10	+.19	+.01	+.26	+.33	+.02	+.23

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages considering a move are significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

ship between position and plans to move disappears.

Prediction 3 (a)

Prediction 3 (a) states:

Lower deviants are more likely to be dissatisfied with the school program than are non-deviants.

Occupational Position

The relationship between occupational position and satisfaction with the school program is moderate and in the predicted direction when the total sample is considered. This relationship is largely accounted for by the younger age group, by home owners as opposed to renters and by people with less than good job chances as opposed to those with good job chances. There is a strong relationship between position and satisfaction where job chances are average. The difference in the percentage dissatisfied is significant at the .01 level in this case.

Educational Position

The relationship between educational position and satisfaction with the school program is weak in the total sample, but becomes moderate under some conditions of control. The moderate relationship in the older age group and among renters is opposite from the findings for occupational position.

Prediction 3 (b)

Prediction 3 (b) states:

Lower deviants are more likely to have no neighbors as friends than are non-deviants.

TABLE 4:3

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 3 (a): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM,
LOWER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	+ .41	+ .44	- .09	+ .57 ^b	+ .08	+ .10	+ .72 ^c	+ .70	N/C	N/C
Educational	+ .16	- .11	+ .55 ^b	- .08	+ .26	+ .04	+ .37	+ .35	+ .32	+ .40

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories combined.

^bDifference in percentages dissatisfied is significant at the .05 level, based on the t test.

^cDifference in percentages significant at the .01 level.

Note: No Opinion responses excluded. In cells N/C, Yule's Q was not calculated because of zero cell in frequency table.

TABLE 4:4

VALUES OF YULE'S Q FOR PREDICTION 3 (b): THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN
CONTEXTUAL POSITION AND HAVING NO NEIGHBORS AS FRIENDS,
LOWER AND NON-DEVIANTS

Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor ^a	High	Low
Occupational	+ .04	+ .15	+ .03	+ .04	+ .03	- .20	+ .30	+ .27	+ .06	- .02
Educational	+ .09	+ .00	+ .28	+ .21	+ .02	- .09	+ .32	+ .26	- .13	+ .19

^aYule's Q based on Average and Poor categories.

Occupational Position

There is no difference between non-deviants and lower deviants in the overall sample. An interesting change appears when job chances are controlled: lower deviants are more likely than non-deviants to have no neighbors as friends when job chances are good but the relationship is reversed when job chances are average. All other relationships are weak and in a direction opposite to that predicted.

Educational position

The total sample fails to support the prediction. In general, when other factors are controlled, lower deviants are less likely to have no neighbors as friends than are non-deviants. This is not true when income is high or job chances are good. There appears to be interaction between position and job chances and position and income. In addition, position has no effect on neighboring among the younger age group or among renters, but does have an effect among the older people and among home owners.

Summary and Discussion

Prediction 2 (a) is not supported in the sample as a whole for either occupational or educational position. The pattern of relationships when other factors are controlled indicates that interaction is taking place. The findings suggest that low occupational position is associated with satisfaction with the home when other factors are either low or high. That is, a lower deviant on occupation is more likely to be dissatisfied with his home than is a non-deviant when there is more chance for mobility. This seems at first glance to be contradictory. Perhaps lower deviants who are tied to the area can defend

their presence if attempts to move them are made by other residents.

The findings for educational position are different from those for occupational position. While some interaction does appear, lower deviants on education are less satisfied among home owners and more satisfied among renters. The strongest relationship found is when home ownership is controlled.

Prediction 2 (b) is rejected when occupational position is considered, but receives weak support when educational position is considered. It is not entirely clear why lower occupational position is associated with plans to move, whereas lower educational position is associated with plans to stay. This could indicate that occupation is a stronger source of incongruence than is education. It may be speculated that occupation is felt to be more a matter of personal worth than education, as occupation appears to be more under the control of the individual. The patterns of relationship in the controlled conditions suggest that differences between lower and non-deviants diminish when an otherwise "illgitimate" continued residence in the area may be legitimated by other factors. It is suggested that lower occupational deviants are not "legitimate" residents but if they are older, own their own homes, have good job chances, or have low incomes, the lower occupational position is discounted or explained by these factors. For example, a lower deviant may have a poor occupation and not "fit" into the area but he is an older person and cannot do much about his occupation. Thus he has no control over the situation and is acceptable in the area. On the other hand, if there does not seem to be any "excuse" for the lower occupational position, for example, a young healthy person, it may be expected that a lower deviant would be subject

to greater pressures to move. This must remain in the realm of speculation for the moment, but may form the basis for future study.

The opposite findings of the effects of educational position must also be the subject of speculation. Lower deviants on education may be considered as relatively higher achievers than non-deviants, considering their educational attainment, when other factors are lower, but where job chances are good or income high, these become the factors for comparison and educational attainment recedes into the background. When these other factors are low, relative educational standing may become of prime importance and judgments of incongruence may depend more heavily on comparisons of education, coupled with the ease with which the education may have been attained.

Prediction 3 (a) is supported by the data. The school program appears to be a source of greater dissatisfaction for lower deviants when they are young, when they own their own home, and when they do not have good job chances. It may be suggested that the greater dissatisfaction is a reaction to incongruence and an attempt to gain acceptance through justification of their residence in the area. It is doubtful that dissatisfaction in this case provides an impetus to move, but rather, demonstrates that incongruence may depend on present position and anticipated future position.

The different findings when educational position is considered suggest a different process. Lower deviants appear to be more concerned about the school program among the older group and among renters. The difference in percentage satisfied among the older group is significant at the .05 level. There appears to be no ready explanation for these differences. The similarity in pattern when job chances are controlled

does suggest that there is an interplay between educational position and occupational position.

Prediction 3 (b) is not supported when the total sample is considered, and is rejected when various controls are applied. The only condition where lower deviants are more likely to avoid neighboring is where job chances are good. Where job chances are average, it appears that lower deviants are more likely to have at least one neighbor as a friend than are non-deviants. This may be interpreted to mean that lower deviants are again trying to gain acceptance in the area. Where job chances are good, this is less necessary as incongruence may be anticipated to decrease. There may be tendency for lower deviants to overstate the extent of their neighboring, though this is not known.

The findings of the effects of educational position suggest a similar explanation, except again, the pattern of relationships conflicts with the findings about occupational position. This suggests a different effect of education in the sense that occupation is a stronger factor for incongruence than is education.

Conclusions

On the basis of the total sample, only prediction 3 (a), that lower deviants will be more satisfied with their homes, received support from the data. Consistent differences in the pattern of relationships when the variables are controlled lead to the conclusion that occupational position is a stronger consideration of incongruence than is educational position. The differences between the effects of occupational and educational position suggest that only occupational

position should be treated as an indicator of incongruence. The possibility that either lower deviants or non-deviants may be subject to incongruence under different conditions must not be overlooked. That is, the same factors which produce congruence for lower deviants may produce incongruence for non-deviants.

Assuming that lower deviants on occupation experience incongruence but that non-deviants do not, lower deviants are more likely to plan a move than non-deviants, especially under the conditions which we assume make residential mobility easier. These findings conform to those of Øyen, reported earlier, and cause rejection of prediction 2 (b).

It is likely that dissatisfaction with the school program is a reaction to incongruence rather than an impetus to move. It appears that differences in dissatisfaction with the school program are attempts to stay rather than move, though dissatisfaction is always available as an explanation for a move. The fact that lower deviants among home owners are more likely to be dissatisfied suggests that this is a reaction to incongruence where the possibility of residential mobility is remote. The lack of simultaneous controls makes interpretation difficult in this case.

Finally, the fact that lower deviants are slightly more likely to have at least one neighbor as a friend suggests that incongruence may lead to attempts to remain in the area through developing friendships and justifying continuing residence in the area. A possibility which may be even more likely is that lower deviants overstate the number of neighbors who are friends. That is, they may tend to count more neighbors as friends when a definition of friendship which includes participation in social gatherings would indicate a lack of

friendships. In general, the rather weak support for this prediction and the rejection of the other predictions suggests the need for further study of the intricacies of status incongruence in a residential area setting.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study examined the degree to which plans to move and dissatisfaction with the neighborhood could be predicted from knowledge of an individual's relative status position in the area. Measures of relative status position, or contextual position, were derived from the range of occupational prestige and educational attainment in the individual's residential area. Upper and lower deviants were defined as those people within the upper and lower quartiles of the range for their respective areas.

It was assumed that both individuals and areas have statuses ranked along the same continuum of social class. Area status implies a "modal type" of individual and this "modal type" is ascribed to every resident of an area. Thus area status becomes a status factor for every resident, in addition to his achieved status factors. If individual status differs from the area "modal type", it might be expected that a condition of status incongruence could result. Such incongruence leads to psychological tension and efforts to reduce the incongruence, under certain conditions.

On the assumption that non-deviants would not be in a position of incongruence, upper deviants were expected to be less satisfied with various aspects of the area, less likely to have a high number of neighbors as friends and more likely to be planning a move than were

non-deviants. These were seen as attempts to eliminate incongruence through raising the lower factor.

Lower deviants were expected to be more satisfied with their homes, be less likely to plan a move, and to have fewer neighbors as friends than non-deviants. On the other hand, lower deviants were expected to be more likely to be dissatisfied with the school program than were non-deviants. These were seen as attempts to maintain a higher status factor.

Several factors were introduced as controls. These were age, home ownership status, perceived chances for improvement in the present job, and income. It was assumed that opportunities for physical mobility would be affected by age, home ownership status and income. Perceived job chances were expected to affect subjective contextual position, though the exact relationship was not specified.

The findings of this study have shown that if one had no other knowledge than that of contextual position, he would in general fail to predict differential mobility between upper deviants and non-deviants. As with all generalizations, the preceding statement admits to exceptions. Upper position with respect to occupation was a moderately strong predictor of dissatisfaction with the school program. Upper position with respect to education predicted dissatisfaction with the home and with the school program moderately well. Upper position failed to predict differential plans to move, and having no neighbors as friends.

It might be speculated that education is more closely related to "style of life" expectations than is occupation. Expectations concerning the home are more likely to differ according to education than occupation. On the other hand, the school program is more likely

related to expectations associated with occupational status. While years of schooling are the basis for educational prestige, social skills are part of the basis for occupational prestige. If the school program is directed toward providing skills appropriate to the area "type", it will likely be seen as inadequate among parents who have relatively higher occupations. Certain expected "frills" will not be present. Whatever the explanation for differences, education and occupation appear to be directed toward different aspects of the area and are likely reflecting different dimensions along which residential mobility might be predicted.

Lower deviant position was a less adequate predictor of possible residential mobility than upper position. Dissatisfaction with the school program was moderately related to lower position with respect to occupation but all other relationships were weak, and many were in the opposite direction from that predicted. Perhaps the most interesting finding was that lower deviants on occupation tended to plan a move more frequently than did non-deviants, whereas when educational position was considered, the opposite relationship was indicated. While under some conditions the relationship decreased to zero, the general pattern was continued throughout.

The two dimensions of status may be reflecting two entirely different processes by which residential mobility decisions are made, and the possibility that status incongruence and reference group attachment are conflicting forces cannot be discounted. Occupational status may be more closely connected with status incongruence than is educational status. Where economic factors or occupational status show little chance for change, the neighborhood may become a point of attachment for

a person with relatively low education. On the other hand, where occupation is relatively low, the comparisons of status may result in status incongruence and provide an impetus to move. This may also be considered a result of the inability of the lower deviant to use the area as a reference group but the reason may be more due to status discrepancies. It may be suggested that lower deviants on occupation receive pressure from both inside and outside the area which may provide the impetus to move.

Conclusions

The data indicate a lack of clear-cut relationships between contextual position and orientation toward the residential area. In general, correlations were weak. However, there appears to be some basis for the conclusion that upper deviants, particularly with respect to education, are less likely to be satisfied with the area than are non-deviants. The different findings with different measures of contextual position suggest that both status incongruence and reference group concepts might be fruitfully employed to account for plans to move. It might be suggested that education indicates reference group behavior whereas occupation indicates behavior based on status incongruence.

Other factors affect these relationships. Upper deviants were less likely to be attached to the area than non-deviants where their upper position was coupled with other factors such as high income and good job chances. Good job chances seemed to have different effects on upper and non-deviants in some cases. It could be suggested that the anticipation of mobility might cause certain aspects of the area to

become irrelevant for upper deviants, but increase their relevance for non-deviants. Anticipated mobility, either through promotion or salary increase, is likely to make non-deviants more sensitive to status aspects of the area with the possible effect of increasing dissatisfaction relative to upper deviants. This would have the effect of decreasing or reversing the correlation between contextual position and dissatisfaction. At the same time, anticipated mobility for lower deviants could have the effect of reducing dissatisfaction through a reduction in sensitivity. This would, of course, depend on the occupational range of the area in question and the degree of mobility expected. It is possible that a lower deviant with respect to occupation whose job chances are good could be in much the same position as a non-deviant with average or poorer chances for occupational mobility.

Factors such as the ability to move easily and anticipated occupational mobility have an effect on behavior and enhance or diminish the effects of contextual position. It appears that there is some connection between contextual position, anticipated position, and dissatisfaction with status aspects of the area but generalizations are difficult to make.

Finally, contextual position in the area cannot be discarded as a factor in residential mobility and orientation toward residential location. Position alone has not been found to be a good predictor, but it is significant that under no conditions did the relationship disappear. At least, none of the factors used as controls in this study accounted for the correlations observed. It is possible that inter-generational mobility might have done so but anticipated occupational mobility did not. Contextual position may yet prove to be an important

factor in explaining ecological differentiation.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Study

This study presents no direct measures of attachment to the residential area. To the extent that the indicators chosen are adequate measures of orientation toward the residential area, the study provides a test of the status incongruence hypothesis. It is suggested that future studies of this nature attempt to measure attachment and feelings about the area more directly. This may give a better understanding of the significance of dissatisfaction with status aspects of the area for future mobility. This study, like certain others in sociological literature, may suffer to some extent from what has been called middle-class bias: The assumption that middle class attitudes are attributable to all people. To guard against this, further research in this area should attempt to obtain a more direct measure of incongruence.

Some clearer statement of area boundaries must be made. The assumption that area boundaries may be irrelevant is unproven, as is the assumption that seemingly homogeneous areas serve as the frame of reference for status ascription. Only if area boundaries can be defined does it make sense to talk about deviations. The accuracy of demographic measures to characterize the area type may be questioned. The perception of area status by residents may be different from the objective measure, leading to difficulties in identifying deviants.

The present study included areas with diverse occupational and educational ranges. Areas differed with respect to homogeneity, middle status range, and housing type. It would be desirable to control for these factors in future studies. One of the problems Øyen faced was

that his areas were similar in character. If the findings of this study could be taken as comparable, they would indicate the possibility that differences in findings are due to differences in between-area results. As Øyen's findings were relevant to apartment areas, it is possible that the lack of support in the present study is due to the inclusion of single-family dwellings where other considerations than status may enter as factors. An interesting test would be to compare a residential apartment area with a single dwelling area.

The data have indicated that educational position has different effects from occupational position. Future studies might study occupational position controlling for educational position.

As a final suggestion, a longitudinal study which would identify changing attitudes as conditions change would be an ideal study design. This would answer certain questions about the development of attachment or positive orientation toward the area. That is, do lower deviants develop attachment to the area if they experience upward social mobility? Or do they move to a higher status area where they become lower deviants? Do people attempt to maintain their relative status when they move? Or is an attempt at equilibration of statuses an attempt simply to raise the area status factor? These questions cannot be answered by the present study. In fact, the major result of the study has been to raise questions rather than to answer them. It is to be hoped that the future will have found them to be fruitful avenues of pursuit.

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APPENDIX A
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR EDMONTON RESIDENTS

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Interviewer _____

Time _____

1-4 Date _____

5,6 Census Tract _____

7-9 Enumeration Area _____

Respondent's Address _____

Respondent's Name _____

10 1. Sex Male 1
 Female 2

11 * 2a. Your age last birthday . . Years: _____

12 b. Spouse's age last birthday Years: _____

13 3. Current Marital Status

Married.	1
Divorced	2
Separated.	3
Widowed.	4
Common-Law	5
Single	6
No Response.	9

14-17 4. How much formal schooling have you had?
 Your spouse? Your parents?

	* Respondent-Spouse		Respondent's Parents	
	Male	Female	Mother	Father
None	1	1	1	1
Grades 1-5	2	2	2	2
Grades 6-8	3	3	3	3
Grade 9	4	4	4	4
Grades 10, 11	5	5	5	5
Grade 12	6	6	6	6
*Vocational, technical or trade training	7	7	7	7
Some University	8	8	8	8
Finished University	9	9	9	9

4. (continued)

*Please specify

Male	1
Female	2
Respondent's Parents (M)	1
(F)	2

- 18 5. If ever married: How old were you when
you were first married?

	Male	Female
Less than 18	1	1
18 - 20	2	2
21 - 25	3	3
26 - 30	4	4
31 - 35	5	5
36 - 40	6	6
41 - 45	7	7
46 and over	8	8
No response	9	9

- 19 6. Where were you born? . . . _____
city, state or province, country

- 20 7. Where was your spouse born? _____

- 21 8. Where was your father born? _____

- 22 9. Where was your mother born? _____

- 23-27 10. We would like to know how many brothers and sisters you
have, how old they are, where they are, and what they are
doing.

Bros. or Sisters	Age	Residence	Occupation	Well Off	So So	Not Well Off
1. _____				1	2	3
2. _____				1	2	3
3. _____				1	2	3
4. _____				1	2	3
5. _____				1	2	3
6. _____				1	2	3
7. _____				1	2	3

28 11. What type of work did you have
when you were first married . . . _____

29 12. What type of work did your spouse
have when you were first married _____

30,31	13.	How many different types of jobs have you and your spouse had in the last five years?.....	Male	Female
		Only 1	1	1
		2 or 3	2	2
		4 or 5	3	3
		6 or 7	4	4
		8 - 10	5	5
		over 10	6	6
		none	7	7
		no response	9	9

32,33	14.	Are you and your spouse presently employed . . .	Yes, full-time. .	1	1
			Yes, part-time. .	2	2
			No, unemployed, seeking work. . .	3	3
			No, unemployed, retired	4	4
			No, unemployed, not seeking work.	5	5
			No, unemployed, handicapped . . .	6	6
			No, unemployed, children.	7	7
			No, housewife . .	8	8
			Other	9	9

34,35 15. Would you please indicate * Male _____
your present jobs and the _____
type of firms involved? Female _____

36,37	16.	How long have you held your present job?	Male 1. _____	Female 2. _____	Full-time job
-------	-----	---	------------------	--------------------	------------------

38 17. Do you or your spouse
have a second job? Yes _____ No. _____

If so, what kind of job
is it? _____

39,40		How long have you held your present part-time job?	Male 1. _____	Female 2. _____	Part-time job
-------	--	--	------------------	--------------------	------------------

41 18. a) Has the main wage earner
ever been unemployed . . . 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not Sure

42,43 b) If yes Type 1. Year round
2. Short term
3. Seasonal
Duration 1. This year
2. Last year
3. During last
five years

44,45 19. Are you actively looking Male Female
for another job 1 1 Yes
2 2 No
3 3 Not sure
9 9 No response

46,47 20. What kind of a job are Male Female
you looking for? or 1 1 Not sure
would you look for? . . . 2 2 Anything
3 3 Specific, if
specific, what
type of work
4 4 Satisfied at
present
9 9 No response

48 21 a) What kind of job would
you most like to have? _____

49 b) What kind of job would
your spouse most like
to have? _____

50,51 22. What are your chances of Spouse You
finding the kind of job 1 1 Very good
you would most like? . . 2 2 Good
3 3 So-so / 50-50
4 4 Poor
5 5 Very poor
9 9 No response

(If "1" or "2", go on to
question 24)

52 23. If these chances are so-so, _____
 poor or very poor, what do _____
 you feel would improve your _____
 chances of finding the job _____
 you would most like? . . . _____

53 * 24. What are your chances for
 improvement in your pre- 1 Excellent
 sent job? i.e. higher 2 Good
 wage, promotion, easier 3 About average
 work 4 Poor
 5 Very poor
 6 Don't know
 9 No response

54 25. How would you go about Through friends 1
 looking for a job? . . . Through relatives 2
 Union 3
 Unemployment Insurance. . 4
 Direct contact with
 employers 5
 Advertisements. 6
 Welfare or government
 agencies. 7
 Don't know 8
 No response 9

55 26. How many children do you
 have? _____

56 27. Have you had any children
 who were stillborn or 1. Yes. 2. No.
 died before the age of 12?
 (If "No" go to question 29).

57 28. How old were they when they Age Cause
 died? What was the general
 cause of their death?
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____

- 58-65 29. For each of your children, please tell me his age, whether living at home or not, his grade, school, and their employment status. Please begin with the oldest.

Name	Sex	Age at last birthday	At Home		Grade in School	If out of school com- pleted grade	Employment Status	
			1 Yes	2 No			1 Emp.	2 Unemp.
1.			1	2			1	2
2.			1	2			1	2
3.			1	2			1	2
4.			1	2			1	2
5.			1	2			1	2
6.			1	2			1	2
7.			1	2			1	2
8.			1	2			1	2
9.			1	2			1	2
10.			1	2			1	2

- 66 30. We would like to know how people are getting along financially. What would you estimate your total family income from all sources was in July, 1966?
- Main Wage Earner: _____
- Others: _____

- 67 * 31. Approximately what was your family's total reported income on the 1965 income tax return?
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Under \$1000. | 1 |
| 1000 - 1999. | 2 |
| 2000 - 2999. | 3 |
| 3000 - 3999. | 4 |
| 4000 - 4999. | 5 |
| 5000 - 5999. | 6 |
| 6000 - 6999. | 7 |
| 7000 and over. | 8 |
| No response. | 9 |

- 68 32. What were the main sources of this income?
- | | |
|---|---|
| Wages or salary | 1 |
| Business or professional practice | 2 |
| Family allowance | 3 |
| Government or private pensions | 4 |
| Welfare aid | 5 |
| Contracting | 6 |
| Stocks, bonds, interest | 7 |
| Cash from children or relatives | 8 |
| No response | 9 |

- 69,70 33. Did you receive any assistance from the city, province, or federal government to help you meet expenses in 1966?

1. Yes 2. No
(If "No" go to question 34)
If Yes: How long
Type Amount in 1966?

1. _____
2. _____

- 71.72 34. Have you ever received any government aid previously:

	Yes	No	Please specify type
Last year (1965)	1	2	_____
Last 2 - 4 years	1	2	_____
Last 5 - 7 years	1	2	_____

- 73 35. a) Do you have any of the following type of debts?
- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-------------------------|
| a) | 1 | 2 | Time payments |
| b) | 1 | 2 | Medical or dental bills |
| c) | 1 | 2 | Bank loan |
| d) | 1 | 2 | Private loan |
| e) | 1 | 2 | Home or property loan |
| f) | 1 | 2 | Loan company |
| g) | 1 | 2 | Car |
| h) | 1 | 2 | Other _____ |

- 74 b) Roughly how much money do you now owe?
(exclusive of home) . . . _____

(If no debts skip to question 39)

- 75 36. When do you expect to have them all paid off?
1. Soon
 2. Within a year
 3. Within several years
 4. Never

- 76 37. Is it ever difficult for you to keep making your payments on time?
1. Yes
 2. No

- 77 38. Does owing money cause you any serious worry?
1. Yes
 2. No

- 78 39. Have you ever had to sell things to make ends meet or pay debts?
1. Yes
 2. No
- What: _____

- 2-11 40. a) Have you received financial help in 1966 from friends or relatives? 1. Yes 2. No
- If "Yes"
- b) Roughly how much was it? . 1. A considerable amount
2. A fair amount
3. A small amount
- 15 * 42. Who owns this property? 1. Self
2. City
3. Private company
4. Private individual
5. Province
6. Other _____
9. Don't know
- 16 43. If renting:
- a) Do you know who your landlord is? 1. Yes 2. No
- 17 b) What is your monthly Rent or Mortgage
rent? R or M
- | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | 1 | Less than \$49 |
| 2 | 2 | 50 - \$59 |
| 3 | 3 | 60 - \$69 |
| 4 | 4 | 70 - \$79 |
| 5 | 5 | 80 - \$89 |
| 6 | 6 | 90 - \$99 |
| 7 | 7 | 100 - \$109 |
| 8 | 8 | over \$110 How much? _____ |
| 9 | 9 | No response |
- 18,19 c) Does your landlord keep up the house and grounds well? 1. Yes 2. No
- Is it easy to get him to do repairs, etc.? . . . 1. Yes 2. No
- 20 44. If own or buying:
What are your monthly payments? _____
- 21 * 45. a) How satisfied are you with your present house? 1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. So-so
4. Dissatisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

- 22 b) Are the facilities adequate
for you?
1. Very adequate
2. Adequate
3. Not adequate
- 23 46. How long have you lived at your present address?
1. Less than 6 months
2. 7 - 12 months
3. Over a year
4. 2 - 4 years
5. 5 - 7 years
6. 8 - 10 years
7. 11 and more years
8. All my life
9. No response
- 24, 25 47. How many people are living here now? Family members _____
Other relatives _____
Others _____
Total no. of people in household _____
Total no. of rooms in household _____
(exclude bathroom, hallways, etc.)
- 26 48. As well as you can remember, how often have you moved in the last five years?
1. No moves
2. One move
3. Two moves
4. 3 - 5 moves
5. 6 - 10 moves
6. More than 10 moves
- 27 * 49. Are you considering moving in the near future?
1. Yes 2. No
- 28 50. How long have you lived in Edmonton?
1. Less than 6 months
2. 7 - 12 months
3. Over a year
4. 2 - 4 years
5. 5 - 7 years
6. 8 - 10 years
7. 11 and more years
8. All my life
9. No response

- 29 51. Why did you first come to Edmonton?
1. Job opportunities
 2. Relatives were here
 3. Friends were here
 4. Parents brought me
 5. Availability of housing
 6. Availability of schools
 7. City facilities
 8. Born here
 9. No response

30-42 52. How satisfied are you with the availability and functioning of the following services in your immediate neighborhood

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dis- satisfied	Very dis- satisfied	No opinion
1. Bus services.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Garbage collection . .	1	2	3	4	5
3. Police.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Location of school . .	1	2	3	4	5
* 5. Program of school . . .	1	2	3	4	5
6. Parks or playgrounds. .	1	2	3	4	5
7. Condition of streets. .	1	2	3	4	5
8. Street lighting	1	2	3	4	5
9. Cleanliness of neighbor- hood.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Stores.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Churches.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Welfare Services . . .	1	2	3	4	5
13. Medical Services . . .	1	2	3	4	5

53. What types of these services are available in Edmonton, for instance:

- 43 a) For a man with a family who is out of a job and needs money to live? Where could he go? _____
- 44 b) A woman who was deserted by her husband and has several children. Where could she get help? _____
- 45 c) An unmarried girl expecting a baby? etc.. . _____
- 46 d) A family with a boy who was doing some minor stealing and was generally troublesome? etc. _____
- 47 e) If you saw a family where the children were not taken care of, left alone or abused? Where could you report such mistreatment? . _____

53. (continued)

48 f) In the case of one or both parents being mentally or physically handicapped, where could they obtain help?

49-52 54. Do you and your spouse belong to any of the following kinds of clubs or organizations? How often do you attend or participate? Are you an officer?

	<u>Officer</u>		<u>Male Attendance</u>					<u>Female Attendance</u>				
	Yes	No	VO	O	S	VS	*	VO	O	S	VS	*
1. A Church	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2. Hobby - recreational	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3. Union	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4. National group or club	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5. Parent home league	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sports group	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7. Political	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
8. Other	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
9. None (Circle if respondent indicates no affiliations)												

* Indicates response "never".

53 55. a) Do you have relatives in or near the city? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Number

b) What is their relationship to you?

54 56. About how often do you see them?

1. Every day
2. At least once a week
3. At least once a month
4. At least once every six months
5. At least once a year
6. Less than once a year
7. Never
9. No response

55 57. Are they within short walking or driving distance?

1. Yes - walking
2. Yes - driving (within 10 miles)
3. Yes - by bus (local)
4. No

56 58. a) Besides relatives, do you have many close friends in the city? 1. Yes 2. No

57 b) Roughly how many? . . .

- 58 59. About how often do you get together with your close friends?
1. Every day
 2. At least once a week
 3. At least once a month
 4. At least once every six months
 5. At least once a year
 6. Less than once a year
 7. Never
 9. No response
- 59 60. Are they within short walking or driving distance?
1. Yes - walking
 2. Yes - driving (within 10 miles)
 3. Yes - by bus (local)
 4. No
- 60 61. Does living in your present neighborhood make it difficult for you to spend time with either your relatives or friends?
1. Yes - relatives
 2. Yes - friends
 3. Not at all
 4. Other _____
- 61 * 62. How many of your immediate neighbors do you consider to be friends?
1. One
 2. Two
 3. Three
 4. All
 5. None
- 62 63. Do you know any people in this area who are poor?
1. Yes 2. No
- 63 Roughly how many families come to mind? _____
- 64 64. a) What shows that they are poor? _____
- 65 b) Why do you think they are poor? _____
- 66 65. What could be done to help them live more adequately? _____
- 67 66. If you were in their situation what could be done to help you live a fairly adequate life? . _____
- 68 67. Do you know any families who receive welfare?
1. Yes - one
 2. Yes - a few
 3. Yes - many
 4. None

- 69 68. a) Do you think that most people
receiving government assistance
deserve it? 1. Yes 2. No 3. ____
- 70 b) Do you think they use their
grants correctly? 1. Yes 2. No 3. ____
- 71 69. What is your citizenship status?
1. Native (Indian)
 2. Meti
 3. Canadian citizen
 4. Naturalized citizen
 5. Landed immigrant - citizen
of _____
 6. Temporary - citizen of _____
 7. Other
 9. No response
- 72 70. Did you vote in the 1965 federal election? . . .
- | Male | Female | |
|------|--------|--------------|
| 1 | 1 | Yes |
| 2 | 2 | No |
| 3 | 3 | Don't know |
| 4 | 4 | Not eligible |
- 73 71. Did you vote in the 1963 provincial election? . .
- | Male | Female | |
|------|--------|--------------|
| 1 | 1 | Yes |
| 2 | 2 | No |
| 3 | 3 | Don't know |
| 4 | 4 | Not eligible |
- 74 72. a) What is the name of your
Member of the Legislative Assembly? _____
- 75 b) What is the name of your
Member of Parliament? _____
- 76 c) Do you know the names of any members
of the Edmonton City Council? _____
- 77 d) Have you ever written or called a
government official to complain
about a neighborhood or personal
problem? 1. Yes 2. No

73. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|---|---|
| 3-11 | a) Most public officials are really not interested in the problems of the average man. . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12 | b) These days a person really doesn't know who he can count on . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13 | c) Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14 | d) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15 | e) Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow . . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 16 | 74. Do you or any members of your immediate family (this household) have any health problems which interfere with your daily life activities? | 1. Yes, have health problems which do interfere |
| | | 2. Yes, have health problems which do not interfere |
| | | 3. No, have no health problems |

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------|
| 17 | 75. In 1966, have any of your family been seriously ill or in the hospital? Who? | a) 1. Yes 2. No |
| | | b) <u>If Yes</u> , who? |

	Relationship	Illness	Length
1.	_____		
2.	_____		
3.	_____		
4.	_____		

- 18 76. Do you have health insurance? . . a) 1. Yes 2. No
 b) If Yes, what type?
 1. MSI
 2. Blue Cross
 3. Private _____
 c) If No, why? _____

77. The following is a series of statements used to describe people - read each statement over carefully and then decide how closely it describes you and your present way of life, and check the number which best describes your feelings.

		Definite- ly agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Definitely disagree
19	1. I am doing things that make full use of my abilities	1	2	3	4
20	2. My income is fair and compares well with my friends	1	2	3	4
21	3. I am my own boss in deciding how I run my life	1	2	3	4
22	4. I do a lot of different things in my life . . .	1	2	3	4
23	5. People respect me for what I do to look after my own affairs	1	2	3	4
24	6. I am making progress with my life.	1	2	3	4
25	A _____ C				
26	B _____ R				
27	C _____ CON				
28	D _____ A				



* Denotes items used in the present study.

APPENDIX B

TABLES

TABLE B:1

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE HOME BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Percentage Dissatisfied With The Home										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	21	26	4	26	18	13	36	42	24	15
Non-deviants	19	17	28	23	18	18	17	26	16	27
Lower deviants	22	28	12	18	25	15	29	29	27	19
All positions	21	22	18	22	20	16	24	30	20	22

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:2
CONSIDERING A MOVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Percentage Considering A Move In The Near Future										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	34	39	19	24	40	40	21	33	35	35
Non-deviants	32	34	26	23	36	31	33	33	31	36
Lower deviants	39	43	29	27	46	35	41	41	43	32
All positions	34	37	26	24	39	34	33	36	34	35

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:3
DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION*

Position	Percentage Dissatisfied With The School Program									
	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	13	12	19	14	12	11	17	17	16	0
Non-deviants	4	4	6	4	5	7	2	0	5	1
Lower deviants	10	11	5	16	7	10	14	0	13	8
All positions	8	7	8	10	7	9	9	4	9	3

* No opinion responses included in total.
Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:4
 DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION,
 NO OPINION EXCLUDED

Percentage Dissatisfied With The School Program										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement		Annual Income		
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	23 (62)	21 (43)	26 (19)	20 (30)	25 (32)	20 (35)	28 (18)	0 (11)	28 (50)	0 (8)
Non-deviants	9 (130)	8 (97)	9 (33)	6 (52)	10 (78)	15 (62)	4 (51)	0 (13)	10 (91)	3 (35)
Lower deviants	15 (80)	19 (53)	8 (26)	18 (38)	12 (42)	17 (29)	20 (35)	(2) (5)	19 (43)	12 (33)
All positions	14 (272)	14 (193)	13 (78)	13 (120)	14 (152)	17 (126)	13 (104)	(2) (31)	17 (184)	7 (76)

Note: Figures in brackets represent the numbers upon which the percentages are based.
 Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:5
NUMBER OF NEIGHBORS WHO ARE FRIENDS BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Position	Percentage With No Neighbors Who Are Friends									
	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	25	27	17	19	29	23	31	25	27	15
Non-deviants	23	21	31	19	24	18	26	31	21	26
Lower deviants	21	16	32	18	23	25	16	24	19	26
All positions	23	21	28	19	25	21	24	27	22	25

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:6

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

Position	Number of Respondents									
	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	111	85	26	42	69	62	29	12	86	20
Non-deviants	253	200	53	74	179	134	85	27	169	75
Lower deviants	122	80	41	45	77	48	51	17	63	53
All positions	486	365	120	161	325	244	165	56	318	148

Note: Numbers may vary due to non-response to specific items. Sub-classifications do not necessarily add to total.

TABLE B:7

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE HOME BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION

Percentage Dissatisfied With The Home										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	25	31	10	28	24	19	42	33	24	29
Non-deviants	17	17	16	13	19	13	22	23	18	17
Lower deviants	18	21	15	26	13	15	18	36	22	16
All positions	19	21	14	19	19	14	24	28	20	19

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:8
CONSIDERING A MOVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION

Position	Percentage Considering A Move In The Near Future									
	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income	
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	38	44	23	22	46	46	33	8	40	39
Non-deviants	32	35	24	23	37	26	36	46	32	30
Lower deviants	25	29	19	19	29	26	25	21	31	22
All positions	32	36	22	22	37	31	33	33	34	29

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:9
DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION*

Percentage Dissatisfied With The School Program										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement		Annual Income		
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low
Upper deviants	12	10	16	19	8	11	12	25	11	10
Non-deviants	6	7	6	9	5	9	6	3	9	4
Lower deviants	9	7	10	5	11	9	13	0	13	4
All positions	8	8	9	10	7	9	8	7	10	5

* No opinion responses included in total.
Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:10
 DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOL PROGRAM BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION,
 NO OPINION EXCLUDED

Percentage Dissatisfied With The School Program										
Position	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement		Annual Income		
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	
Upper deviants	21 (62)	19 (43)	26 (19)	30 (23)	15 (39)	19 (37)	26 (23)	(3) (7)	19 (42)	18 (17)
Non-deviants	12 (176)	13 (119)	9 (57)	12 (91)	12 (85)	16 (86)	8 (83)	(1) (22)	15 (115)	7 (55)
Lower deviants	16 (57)	11 (36)	25 (20)	11 (19)	18 (38)	17 (23)	16 (31)	0 (5)	25 (24)	15 (13)
All positions	15 (295)	14 (198)	16 (96)	15 (133)	14 (162)	17 (146)	14 (103)	(4) (34)	10 (181)	9 (98)

Note: Figures in brackets represent the numbers upon which the percentages are based.
 Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:11
NUMBER OF NEIGHBORS WHO ARE FRIENDS BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION

Position	Percentage With No Neighbors As Friends										
	Total	Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			Annual Income		
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor	High	Low	
Upper deviants	22	24	19	14	27	21	32	8	25	13	
Non-deviants	24	20	36	23	25	21	26	35	20	29	
Lower deviants	21	20	23	17	24	24	15	29	24	22	
All positions	23	21	29	(20)	25	21	24	28	22	24	

Note: Percentages are not additive.

TABLE B:12
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL POSITION

Position	Total	Number of Respondents							Annual Income		
		Age		Home Ownership		Chance for Job Improvement			High		Low
		Under 40	40 & over	Own	Rent	Good	Average	Poor			
Upper deviants	108	77	31	36	72	63	25	12	72	31	
Non-deviants	324	235	89	120	204	177	102	35	196	112	
Lower deviants	108	56	48	42	63	46	40	14	45	51	
All positions	537	368	168	198	339	286	167	61	313	194	

Note: Numbers may vary due to non-response to specific items. Sub-classifications do not necessarily add to total.

